

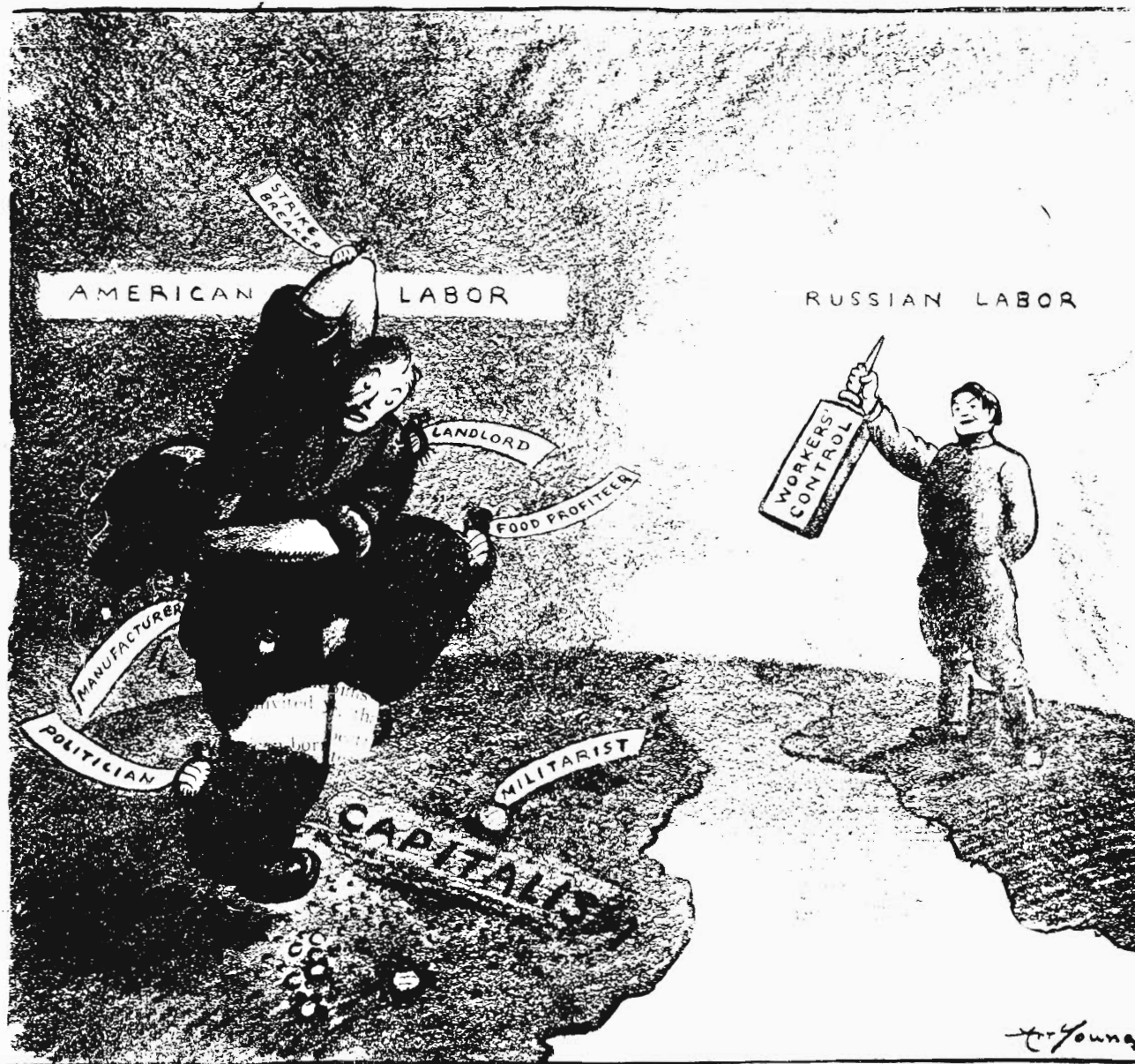
The VOICE OF LABOR

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Russia: Hey, Bill! Try our Cootie Cure! It works!

When you have read this, pass it along!

Look Out! Railroad Crossing!

By Casey Jones

What do the Railroad Workers want?
What is the meaning of the "Plumb Plan"?

In a statement to the newspapers the other day, Warren S. Stone, Grand Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, said, "It marks the step by which Organized Labor passes from *demands for wage increases, to demands that the system of profits in industry be overhauled.*"

The Railroad workers, in this country are getting tired of asking for a raise in wages just to try and keep up with the cost of living.

The Brotherhoods therefore demand that either some provision be made for a regular increase of wages, amounting to about a billion dollars a year, or else that the Government take over the railroads, and let the workers run them.

Kick the Capitalists Out

Says Chief Stone, "We demand that the *owners of capital*, who represent only financial interests as distinguished from operating brains and energy, *be retired from the management.*" This statement means, in brief—"Kick the capitalists out. The workers and the operating officials will run the roads."

How shall the Government buy the railroads? By paying for all the watered stock and diluted bonds held in Wall Street? By paying what it would cost to rebuild the roads? Oh no. The Brotherhoods—who are supported by all the rest of the railroad employees—want a Government Commission established to find out *just what the railroads are really worth.*

The Government is to pay this price by an issue of bonds yielding 4 per cent interest—and *no more*—to the present owners. If these bonds were long-term bonds, the measure would simply increase the number of people who are living high without working. But the Brotherhoods don't want to create a privileged class of bond-holders. So they propose that a certain amount of the profits be set aside each year to wipe out these bonds—by which means, in a short time, there will be *no private capitalists left living off the railroads.*

Of course, by rights the capitalists ought not to be paid anything for the railroads; they have gained the amount of their investment a hundred times over, and all of it has come out of the pockets of the workers.

How to Run the Roads

When the Government acquires the railroads, they are to be leased to a corporation, of which there are to be fifteen directors: five appointed by the President (supposed to represent "the public"—whatever that is); five representing the operating officials of the road, and five from the organized Railroad workers. These fifteen men are to have complete charge of running the roads. They are to pay all expenses and wages out of the earnings of the roads. The profits are to be equally divided between the workers and the Government, up to a certain point.

When these profits reach a certain level—5 per cent

—the railroad freight and passenger rates are automatically reduced, and the public travels cheaper.

The Government is to supply the operating capital.

This is, in short, the "Plumb Plan," by which the Railroad Brotherhoods propose to stop the Government from handing back the roads to their private owners. Government ownership—workers' management.

Come Across

Either the "Plumb Plan," or a \$1,000,000,000 raise in wages—*quick*, or strike on September 2. This country knows well what the threat of a general railroad strike means. In 1916 the Brotherhoods threatened to strike, and Congress fell over itself to give them the Eight-Hour Day.

In the meantime the Railroad Shopmen, enraged at the President's proposal to create a Federal Commission to regulate rates and wages, have not waited for a strike vote. They have broken loose from their Union officials, and tens of thousands of shopmen are now out, with thousands more joining them. They demand immediate wage-raises of about \$165,000,000, and no Federal Commission. They are back of the "Plumb Plan." Besides them the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers and Station Employees, 450,000 strong, threaten to go out unless wages are raised and hours lessened.

Very Respectful

The Director General of Railroads pleads that he has no money to pay the raises. He doesn't threaten the Railroad workers with policemen and the militia. Congressman Sims rushes before the House of Representatives with a bill to put the "Plumb Plan" in operation. He doesn't call them "anarchists," and threaten to deport their leaders. The Railroad Brotherhoods didn't *elect Mr. Stone* to office, either; he just knows his master's voice.

Everybody is very respectful to the Brotherhoods. They have power—not votes, but *strike-power*. They can tie up the country. If they had voted for the "Plumb Plan" for fifty years it wouldn't be in Congress now.

If the Railroad Brotherhoods wanted to get Tom Mooney or Gene Debs or the I. W. W.'s out of jail, they could do it tomorrow. If they wanted to have the troops withdrawn from Russia, they could do it. It's easier to do those things than to take the railroads away from the capitalists.

The trouble is that they don't want to. It is a short-sighted policy to ask for economic independence, and then allow the capitalists to jail those who do the talking; to fight for your own Union and let other Unions be defeated; to win the working class struggle for American Labor, and let Russian Labor be smashed by American bosses.

But just the same, there's a moral in the attitude of the Brotherhoods—*If you want anything from the capitalist class, organize and strike for it!*

Goodbye Fellows!

A Letter to American-Born Working Men

(According to statistics of the Bureau of Immigration and the Department of Customs, more than two million alien workingmen have left America for Europe since the armistice was signed—for a longer period more than a thousand a day sailed from the Port of New York alone. Why are they going? This letter, from a foreign worker who has been here for many years, and is now going home, may help to explain the reason. —Ed.)

WELL, good bye, fellows! Yes, I am leaving, going home, going back to the first workingman's country in the world—Soviet Russia.

For seventeen long years you and I have been toiling side by side.

Together we cussed and swore about the lousy bunks and punk grub in the rain-soaked logging camps of Washington and Oregon; together we "humped" lumber and railroad ties in the California seaports; together we "mucked" in the tunnels and grading camps of Nevada and Utah; together we hayed in Colorado and harvested in Kansas and the Dakotas; together we smelled the stink of Chicago stock-yards, hustled in the machine-shops of Cleveland and the steel mills of Pittsburgh, sailed on the Lakes; together we worked in half a dozen ship-yards, all along the Eastern Coast.

We know each other, you and I. And now let me tell you why I want to go back.

Somehow you fellows have got it into your heads that this is the best country in the world for a workingman to live in, and that it will remain the best. More than that. You say that this country, *as it is now*, is good enough for you—and you'd just as soon have it *as it is* for ever and ever. Anybody who disagrees with you is unpatriotic, or an ungrateful knocker.

"If You Don't Like Your Uncle Sammy"—

It is a hundred to one bet that an American-born worker's answer to a dissatisfied foreigner will always be: "If you don't like this country, get to hell out of it. Nobody invited you to come here; who's keeping you now?"

Many American-born workingmen think that this is a very smart answer—a regular knock-out; in reality, it is the silliest sentence in the world to be spoken by a working man.

Let me show you why.

Who owns this country—the great shops, the railroads, the big banks; the forests, rich mines and fertile soil? Do the workingmen own them, or a handful of millionaires with their comfortable and well-paid managers, foremen, superintendents, guards and private detectives?

Who make the laws, who enforce them, who appoint the judges, police and jail-keepers? The workers or the bosses?

True enough, every little while the politicians—paid and controlled by these same bosses and millionaires—come around asking for your votes. And you swallow all their bunk, vote for them, and think you're ruling the country. Then you go on strike. A Judge (the one you voted for) issues an injunction forbidding you from picketing. A Sheriff (you voted for him) gives deputy badges to scabs and private detec-

tives. A Governor (you helped to elect him) calls in the militia to break the strike.

A band of thugs hired by John D. Rockefeller shoot down striking coal-miners in Colorado, and burn their women and children to death—nobody's punished. A band of thugs hired by the Phelps-Dodge Company at Bisbee deport five hundred striking copper miners into the desert at the point of a gun—nobody's punished. A servant of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, a District Attorney named Fickert (you helped elect him, too), sends Tom Mooney to jail for life on a frame-up—nobody's punished except Mooney.

Yes, you rule the country—like Hell!

Democracy!

Millions of you don't know yet that it doesn't make a particle of difference whether Republicans, Democrats, Progressives or "Independents" win the election. It's nothing to you whether this or that "friend of labor," whether this "good" man or that "great" man gets a soft political job.

How many more times must you be fooled before you begin to see it?

The great industrial and financial barons of this country hold every politician in the hollow of their hands. If the politicians do as they are told to, they get promoted; if they do what they promised you to do, they are down and out.

As for us working men—you American-born and we foreign-born—we get work if they can make money out of us; if they can't, we can go hang ourselves. When we have jobs, we get barely enough to feed, clothe and shelter ourselves and our families. When we are out of work we face starvation. And when starvation comes, they tell us: "Don't make trouble, or you'll get your head cracked by a cop's club. Stand in line. Patronize the soup-houses. Charity will take care of your family—if there's enough to go around. Shut up, and be thankful for the slops!"

America, at this moment, is the biggest gold-mine for the capitalists that ever existed in all history. The capitalists of America have made so many millions of dollars (yes, they skinned it out of you and me), that they are searching all over the world for places to invest it; for countries in which to build new shops, mills and railroads, to dig new mines, and skin more millions out of the workingmen of other countries—Mexico, China, Siberia. . . .

Taxing Ice-Cream Cones

But when it comes to pay the war-debts, these hundreds of millions of profits are scarcely touched. Instead, the wise men in Washington, D. C. (your Government), have the nerve to tax the workingman, to take it out of the children of the poor.

One cent tax on each ice-cream cone! One cent on each nickel ticket to a moving-picture show! Twenty cents on the poor man's dollar! A blind man ought to see by whom and for whose benefit the laws are made!

Of course the capitalists are satisfied with this country *as it is now*. Of course they want to "kick to hell out of this country" every foreign workingman who sees and doesn't like the great skin-game that is going on.

And the American-born worker who slings the same words against his fellow-worker born in another country, is simply echoing the sentiments of the boss who robs him, beats him and breaks him.

For seventeen long years—the best years of my life—I have slaved for the American money-bags. All I got for it was a bare living, like a farmer's mule or a contractor's team-horse.

So did you, my American friends and fellow-workers—Yankee of New England and Native Son of the Golden West. The only difference between you and me is, that I understood it and felt it every day and every hour, while most of you don't understand it and don't feel it even now.

Wages and Pork Chops

When wages were \$15 a week, we bought pork chops for 10 or 12 cents a pound. Now we get \$30 a week, and the same kind of pork chops cost us 45 cents a pound. Wages have doubled; pork chops cost *almost four times as much*. Where do we gain, when in the face of the unheard-of cost of living, our wages don't increase in proportion, but fall more and more behind the price of necessities?

When the starving textile workers of Lawrence, Mass. (who get \$14 to \$20 a week), went on strike two months ago *against a wage-reduction*, the city authorities (elected by workingmen) paraded mounted machine-guns up and down the streets. This was pictured in all the capitalist daily papers as the only effective means of suppressing "Bolshevism." When you ask for more bread, they call you "Bolshevik," and threaten to shoot you.

Our jobs are getting more uncertain every day—you know that as well as I do. If we are too old, if we can't work fast enough, if they can get cheaper men, if we give back-talk to a cranky straw-boss, if we open our mouths in Union meetings, if we kick for better conditions—then we get fired. Isn't that right?

But the most pitiful figures are those workingmen who think they are well-off; who, by scraping, saving, working themselves to the bone, have managed to get a two-by-four house and lot on a ten-year installment plan. Being afraid to lose their jobs in that vicinity, they cease to be men, and turn into worms. They are afraid to kick, afraid to protest, afraid to strike; they do not dare to open their mouths.

On top of all this, when, on account of the speeding up of production, or unsettled industrial or financial conditions, the millionaire bosses have on hand too many unsold products, or they can't sell them at a big enough profit—then they shut down mills and whole industries, and millions of workers are turned out on the street.

This is "Hard Times." The capitalist, of course, takes it easy on his accumulated millions, while hun-

dreds of thousands of us—"free-born" Americans and "damn foreigners" alike—get a long and hungry vacation, with the popular out-door sport of walking from one shop to another and meeting everywhere the same sign outside: "No Admittance! No Help Wanted!"

By all the signs it looks as if the workers of America will get one of those vacations in the near future—not only a good long one, but a lean one.

What to Do?

Is there any help for it? Is there any way out?

Yes, there is! And not a theory, either, but a practical scheme that is now working.

Every one of you has been reading for the past two years the fake newspaper stories about Russia, and the hair-raising tales of the "terrible Bolsheviks." The bigger the lie, the better it is paid for by the capitalist papers, who are owned and controlled by the same millionaire bosses who own the industries.

Why?

Because the working men and soldiers of Russia, hand in hand with the farm-hands and the poorest farmers, overthrew, not only the bloody Tsar and his slave-drivers, but also the shyster Kerensky, behind whose coat-tails the millionaire bosses of Russia expected to keep on skinning the workers.

Because these same workers—organized their own *Workers' Government*.

Because the Bolshevik Soviet Government took away the factories, mills, mines, banks and land from their millionaire owners—did not pay a cent for them—and turned them over to the workers, farm-hands and poor farmers.

Because, in spite of all difficulties, the workers of Russia are learning how to manage and run the industries *for the benefit of all who work*.

Because the workers of Russia are succeeding, and are defending their own Soviet Government against all attacks from the capitalist Governments of Japan, England, France, Italy and America, who are assisting the old millionaires and the Tsarist generals in their attempt to restore the Russian workers to slavery.

Because the American millionaire bosses are shaking in their stolen shoes for fear you American-born workers learn something about the real conditions in Soviet Russia. They are afraid that you might begin to think that the way of the Russian workers is a good way out of the present capitalist swamp toward industrial freedom.

They're Afraid of You

They fondly hope that you American-born workers will believe all the lies they tell you, that you will forget your own conditions and join in the hunt for Bolsheviks in America.

They are trying to split the workers into an American-born and a foreign-born section, set them fighting each other, and thus skin both of them.

They are not afraid of the foreign-born workers. They know that the few foreign-born rebels cannot harm their looted money-bags. *But they fear worse than fire that you American-born workers will become revolutionists.* And they are right. The future of America, the future of the working class of America, rests in the hands of the American-born workers. If

(Continued on next page)

The Fall of Soviet Hungary

THE Soviet Government of Hungary has fallen, and the Hungarian Workers' Republic is temporarily at an end. Temporarily, we say, because the Hungarian workers have had a taste of what it means to govern themselves, and in a short time the Soviet will be re-established at Budapest.

Well, if the workers like it so much, you'll say, why did it fall?

After four years of war, peace found Hungary without food, and without raw materials to run the factories and supply the people with necessities. Hungary was surrounded by hostile nations—Yugo-Slavia, Czechoslovakia, Rumania—who were encouraged by the Big Four of the Allied Powers to attack her.

Dirty Work By the Big Four.

At the same time the Big Four demanded that Hungary should cease all military operations—that is, stop defending herself. And they armed, encouraged and supported the counter-revolutionary army, made up of land-owners, aristocrats, manufacturers, bankers, etc., who were trying to get back their property.

At first the Big Four in Paris invited Bela Kun, the Foreign Commissar of the Soviet Government, to come to Paris; just as they invited Lenin from Russia to come to Prinkipo. And just as they did with Lenin, when Bela Kun accepted the invitation, they changed their minds.

Finally they informed the Hungarians flatly that the Allies would not make peace with Hungary until they overthrow their Soviet Government.

Starving the Soviet

In the meantime the United States Government, which is now feeding the world, sent a Food Com-

missioner, a certain Captain Thomas Gregory, to Budapest. Hungary was starving, and needed food. Captain Gregory said, "All right, we'll give you food if you'll overthrow your Soviet Government." But the Hungarians refused. Starving, without clothes, without sufficient arms, without work, they still swarmed into the Red Army to defend the Worker's Republic. But there came a time when the enemy armies, supported by the Allies, pressed in on the frontiers, and in spite of heroic resistance drove the Red Army back. And the people in the cities were starving. And Captain Gregory, with thousands of tons of food piled just outside Hungary's frontier, kept yelling that the Hungarian Soviet Government refused to let it in. As a matter of fact, the Hungarian Government begged for food, and made all sorts of concessions to the Allies—except resigning. So finally the people couldn't stand starving any longer, and the Allies won.

The Hungarian workers appealed to the workers of the Allied countries to help them, by refusing to fight against Hungary, by refusing to make munitions with which to shoot down the Hungarian Red Army. But the French and British workers did not wake up in time, and the Italian workers spoke too late, and the American workers never said a word.

Seeing that there was no hope, the Soviet government finally agreed to resign, on condition that the Allies would halt the attack of the Rumanians and Czechoslovaks. The Allies promised, and the Soviet government of Hungary stepped down. Immediately the Rumanians pressed forward, bombarded defenseless Budapest and entered the Capital, arresting the government, looting and killing.

Strikers and Scabs

Look at it like this.

The Allied Governments are Bosses, and the Big Four sitting in Paris is the Committee of the Manufacturers' Association. Soviet Russia and Soviet Hungary are two Unions on strike.

They appeal to you for help. But you, like a Union of another craft, say that it doesn't concern you—that it is none of your business. You carry soldiers—strike-breakers—on the ships and the railroads. *You scab on the Workers' Republic of Hungary.* You make munitions so that the soldiers and the private detectives can shoot down the Hungarian workers.

The Craft Unionism of the nations has allowed the great Hungarian Union to fall. If, for example, the American workers, in one great Union assembled, had warned the American Government to keep out of Hungary, to leave Hungary alone; if you had threatened a general strike to help the Hungarian workers, as the workers of Italy did (and forced their Government to withdraw), Soviet Hungary would still exist, the hope and help of the entire working class.

The Hungarian strike is broken. The Russian strike is standing firm, in spite of the Allied strike-breakers, in spite of the fact that you American workers are making munitions for Kolchak, and your brothers in uniform are fighting to break it down in Siberia and Archangel.

Soon you will see it, and then there will be the One Big Union of all the workers in the world.

Goodbye Fellows!

(Continued from page 4)

you turn revolutionists, the American millionaires and their flunkys are doomed.

As for me, I am getting weary of slaving for any millionaire; I am sick and tired of being at the mercy of a bone-headed straw-boss for a job; I am disgusted with lots of things that you are still proud of.

I want to live and work among free workers. I want to spend the rest of my life working for a better future for mankind, liberated from all the parasites. Yes, I would prefer to die fighting against the enemies of the New Social Order in Workingmen's Russia, than to spend the rest of my strength working for American millionaires, and then, worn out, die like a stray dog by the road-side here in America, leaving behind me sons and daughters to go through the mill that I went through.

But I believe that time and experience will change your minds, fellow-workers born in America. Then you will act—as the working class of Russia acted.

And when you do, perhaps some of you remember that the "damned Polak" or the "crazy Russian," as you so often called me, wasn't so "damned" or so "crazy" after all.

Yours for a free world for the workers,

IVAN IVANOVITCH.

We're Through with the Job-Trust

By B. Gitlow

FELLOW-UNIONISTS, are you satisfied with your organization?

For years you have battled for higher wages, better working conditions and independence on the job. Have you got them? Your wages have been increased, but the cost of living has gone up still more. For years you have been paying dues to an organization for the purpose of controlling your jobs, only to discover that you are still at the mercy of your boss. In most cases your Labor organization seems to be something foreign to you—a sort of Job-Trust, to which you are forced to pay dues if you want work. You seldom go to meetings. You are afraid of your own officers and business agents. You work under signed agreements arranged by the Union officials and the Bosses. In most cases you don't have any say in the signing of the agreement. When you tried to strike to better your conditions, the Union officials, in league with the bosses, used the agreement to prevent you from striking. Many Union men have become disgusted. They want a change, but still they permit things to go on as usual.

Hang Together or Hang Separately

Every worker, especially the worker who is a part of the Organized Labor movement of this country, must understand the power of Labor standing shoulder to shoulder. During the War the Government told you that victory and the future of the Government itself depended upon the support of Organized Labor. This is true, because life itself and all human activity depend upon the production and distribution by the worker of the things used by society. How long could the American Army have fought if the workers had refused to make munitions, clothing, or supply food? Nevertheless, the workers, upon whom the entire human race depends, are themselves at the mercy of a few, who by the ownership of land, the machinery of production and distribution, and the banks, rule over us like Kaisers. Your bosses decide what wages to pay you, how long you shall work; and thus they actually determine your standard of living. Year after year you have listened to the promises of politicians, only to discover that *all the*

machinery of the Government, which is supposed to represent you, is used by the employers against you. When you strike for higher wages, when you demand human conditions, when you ask for ordinary justice, you find the police ready to beat you up, the judges ready to jail you, and the militia ready to shoot you. You find out that the Boss not only rules his shop like a Kaiser, *but he is the Government also.*

A Poor Day's Pay for a Fair Day's Work

In the past, as a Union man, your slogan has been, "A fair day's pay for a fair day's work." Your organization has been maintained on the so-called "Friendship between Capital and Labor." But your pay has never been fair, and the kind of "friendship" you've got from Capital is that Capital has tried to smash your organization every time it could. You have been striking for years—but your status as a worker has always become worse; there is always the possibility of unemployment, and the ever-present worry about the future. And your organization, organized on craft lines, gives you no hope; the only thing your Union offers you is Strike, Strike, Strike—not for more wages, but simply to regulate your wages to meet the ever-rising cost of living.

The master-class, the Boss class, controls the Government and enjoys its wealth, idleness and luxury because it owns industry. You as workers must obtain power at the source of all power—the industries in which you are employed. You must be part of a unified Labor organization, which must be so well organized that it can control the entire industry, and not a small fraction of it. Furthermore, your organization must understand the economic structure of present day society and your position as a worker. The time has passed for your craft organization. The time has passed for blindly following your leaders. The time has passed for you to submit to agreements which tie you hand and foot.

Get Into the Big Fight

As organized workers you must become part of the struggle of the enlightened working class which is seeking a *fundamental change*. Read your newspapers, and see what is going on in the Labor movement in Europe. You read about gigantic strikes in foreign countries—strikes which are rocking the foundations of the Governments. You hear that the miners in England are striking for nationalization of the mines; that the great Triple Alliance—the Miners, Railroad men and Dockers—have declared for a general strike against Conscription, and against Intervention in Russia. You read how the Italian workers through their Labor Unions seized control of the food situation. Organized Labor in Europe, acting for the entire working class, are using their organizations as *political weapons*.

At the A. F. of L. Convention at Atlantic City the Gompers "machine" refused to endorse the Russian Soviet Republic. "Because," John P. Frey explained, "it isn't a democratic Government. It proclaims itself



Partnership of Capital and Labor

Take a look at this. He's your "partner"!

to be a *Workers' Government*, so the American Federation of Labor can't endorse it!"

James P. Holland, president of the New York State Federation of Labor, was asked by the Lusk Committee the other day if he ever heard the "Bolsheviks" talk about "dictatorship of the workingmen." "Sure," he said, "*Even in the American Federation of Labor!*"

Fellow worker, brother Unionist, amalgamate your forces. Join your craft Unions into a mighty unit. It is not necessary to destroy your organization, but your organization must sink its independence into a larger body, representing all the crafts in your trade. *All the industries, organized industrially, should co-ordinate their forces in the One Big Union.*

The One Big Union in New York

Take New York, the industrial and financial center of the country. Picture the One Big Union in control here—the Longshoremen, the Transport and Marine Workers, the Building Trades, the Teamsters, the Railway Men, the Garment Workers, the Machinists the Textile Workers, the Printers, and all the rest, organized in one great organization. A strike of the One Big Union would terrorize the exploiters of labor, and force the Government to take notice of the workers' demands.

You want the end of exploitation, the end of unemployment, the end of the dominance of a minority over the workers. You want a home and an opportunity to enjoy what you produce. You desire the rule of the workers instead of the rule of the bosses. Center all this on the One Big Union. Make it the expression of the economic struggle of the workers, and their political weapon also, with the slogan, "Down with the political dictatorship of the capitalist class! Up with the Workers' Government, in which only he who works shall vote! All industry, transportation and finance shall be owned by the workers, and controlled only through their organizations."

Now Is the Time

Such an organization is worth sacrificing for. Its object is your emancipation. It offers you the only way out of this system of insecurity and want. It opens up the avenues of production for the betterment and enrichment of the workers.

Shall the workers of America, who have shown their mettle in the past by lining up with the forces of Progress, now lag behind their brothers all over the world? Now as never before you must act and act quickly. The greed of the financial and industrial lords, even now while peace is being signed, is driving the world again toward war.

You fed, supplied and fought in a war for an ideal which you did not enjoy in your own country—Liberty; and which your Government, together with the Allies, has denied to the peoples of other countries. The future security and prosperity of the working class both here and abroad depends upon the solidarity of Labor. Working class solidarity can only come through effective organization, and the class-consciousness of the workers.

The One Big Union for the one big army of the working class.

How to Help

THIS paper is distributed by volunteer Committees organized in the shops by the workers themselves.

Do you like it? Do you think it is worth while helping?

If you do, this is how you can help:

Organize a Committee in your shop—or among your fellow-workers; fellows you know are "all right"—even if there are only one or two of you. Get together and talk it over. Have a smoker, a lecture or some kind of an entertainment by which you can raise a little money. If you want speakers, write to us, or ask the local Left Wing organization to supply one.

With this money order a few hundred copies of *The Voice of Labor*, and distribute them to the workers *on the job*. If you can sell them, so much the better; if not, give them away.

Increase your Committee by adding to it other workers who are interested. Start new Committees in other shops.

Use these Committees to spread the ideas of Industrial Unionism. Make them the basis for Shop Committees which will control your jobs, which can deal with the bosses direct, without the interference of reactionary Union officials.

When you have several of these Committees in different shops, have them elect delegates to a Workers' Council. This is a start toward Industrial Unionism.

This is *your* paper. Write us articles. Criticize the paper. Ask for anything you want to know about, and we'll try to tell you. Get subscribers. Get people interested. It is up to you.

If the paper succeeds, we'll make it larger, publish pictures, and keep you thoroughly informed of what is *really* going on in the Labor Movement, both here and abroad.



The Liberator

The Right to Work

Don't insult this soldier by asking him to join the Union. He lost a leg for Liberty—and now he's got a Right to Work!

The Voice of Labor

For Labor's organization by industries in the One Big Union.

Published twice a month by the Labor Committee of the National Left Wing

Editor.....**John Reed**
Manager.....**Ben. Gitlow**

5 cts. a copy; Six Months \$1.50; One Year \$3.00
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This Paper

This paper is published for you, the workers in the mines, mills, factories, transportation lines; on the docks, in the ships, the harvest fields, stockyards; for the builders, the muckers, sandhogs; for you, the workers, who make everything with your labor, and get nothing but a bare living, and ought to have all.

The purpose of this paper is to tell you how your fellow-workers and brothers are ORGANIZING, and to tell *them* how *you* are ORGANIZING—in order to make the world free.

ORGANIZATION—to get decent wages, decent living conditions. ORGANIZATION—to have leisure, to have plenty, to make the world fit for you and your children to live in. ORGANIZATION—to do away with profiteers, landlords, politicians, private detectives, and CRAFT UNIONISM.

We believe that the Labor Unions must be run by the RANK AND FILE. We believe that the Industries must be run by the WORKERS.

Against the power of Labor organized in ONE BIG UNION the world over, private ownership of Industry can not stand. Against the IRON BATTALIONS OF THE WORKERS, the Capitalist System will fall like a house of cards.

What's Going On

THE RACE RIOTS in Washington, D. C. were incited largely by the great mass of Southern office-holders who have flooded the National Capital since the war, and who forget they are in a civilized country.

The cause of the race riots in Chicago is similar to that which resulted in the Negro massacres at East St. Louis two years ago. During the war, the manufacturers brought thousands of Negroes North to work in the industries. They were paid low wages,

penned in stinking slums, and barred out of most Labor organizations.

The war over, the soldiers coming home want their jobs back, the rent profiteers want to prevent the Negroes from settling in "white" sections, and the bosses want to keep down wages. This combination of reasons irritates the white residents and the white workers. Together they attack the Negroes, murdering them just like the Russians used to murder the Jews.

And the bosses and landlords, who are to blame, are glad to see the wrath that ought to be directed at them turned against the Negroes.

If white workers and black workers joined hands, there would soon be no bosses and no rent profiteers—and no "race problems" either.

THE MOVEMENT TO organize the Police in New York is gaining rapid headway. This morning a Committee, representing more than nine thousand patrolmen and several hundred sergeants, visited the Police Commissioner to find out what he thought of a Union in the force.

All over the country the Police are showing signs of class-consciousness. Unions are being started in thirty cities, after the example of the British "bobbies."

When the cops swing in as a section of the One Big Union, then where will the bosses get their scabherders?

AS WE GO to press eight thousand motormen, conductors and guards of the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company are on strike, completely paralyzing the transit system of Brooklyn. All crafts are out together. Now if they would *only come back together!*

The Receiver for the Company, Mr. Lindley M. Garrison (once Secretary of War), says today in the papers, "Now if I only had enough police I'd break that strike!"

Well, if the Mayor sends the police to break our strike, we won't vote for him again, that's all!

IF YOU WANT any further proof that capitalist Governments are always on the side of the bosses against the workers, look at what is happening in Winnipeg. The leaders of the General Strike there, which was called for the most elementary demands of higher wages, shorter hours and Union recognition, and was conducted in perfect order, *are now on trial for sedition*—because they tied up the city and made the City Government powerless to act except through lawless mobs.

UNLESS THE POST Office Employees get some satisfaction of their demands for higher wages and better conditions before their National Convention, on Labor Day, Secretary Greenbaum of the New York Post Office Clerks says that the constitution of the organization, which forbids striking, will be amended to allow for a nation-wide General Strike of Postal Employees.

It is time the Federal employees stopped being slaves.

Atlantic City and After

By Joe Tillett

THE proceedings of the A. F. of L. Convention at Atlantic City are doubtless familiar to most workers, but for the sake of those who do not know, we give the following summary of what the Convention did:

1. Sentenced Tom Mooney to life imprisonment, by condemning the July 4th General Strike, and ferociously denouncing the International Workers' Defense Union.
2. Officially denounced the One Big Union movement, and all forms of industrial Unionism.
3. Approved of the Initiative and Referendum in politics, and disapproved of it in the American Federation of Labor.
4. Ignored the Winnipeg strike, and, in a speech by Gompers from the chair, ridiculed the Seattle strike.
5. Refused to endorse the Labor Party and advised against it—although, owing to the strength of the movement, the Federation declared that it would not interfere with the affiliated National and International Unions in this matter.
6. Requested the Government to recognize the Irish Republic and *not* to recognize the Soviet Republic.
7. Condemned the Russian people to starvation wholesale by refusing to ask for the lifting of the blockade.
8. Voted down a resolution demanding the release of political prisoners, and declared that "many of the sentences imposed were fully justified."
9. Decided to organize the Steel Industry.
10. Passed a resolution condemning the abuse of judicial powers in construing the law, and advising workers to disregard injunctions in industrial disputes.
11. Voted down a proposal to change Labor Day to May 1st, and another to arrange it that all contracts expire May 1st; because the International Labor Movement of Europe—which is revolutionary—celebrates on that day.
12. Requested the President to dismiss Postmaster-General Burleson from office.
13. Voted down a proposal that the workers demand the right to elect their foremen. ("Why," said Matt Woll, speaking on this motion, "that is the business of the employer—not the worker. You might as well have the workers elect the Board of Directors!")
14. Endorsed the bill in Congress to restrict foreign immigration for a term of years—including Mexican immigration.
15. Refused to support Soldiers' and Sailors' Councils, and in particular, the Soldiers', Sailors' and Marines' Protective Association.
16. Refused to take a stand against the deportation of radical aliens.
17. Requested the Government to repeal the Espion-

age Act, but only after peace is signed, when it will automatically cease to function anyway.

18. Endorsed the Labor Charter attached to the Covenant of the League of Nations—which has been denounced by the Labor Movements of every civilized country on earth; and gave its unqualified approval to all the words and deeds of Woodrow Wilson and the Democratic Party.

One-third of the *delegates* at the Convention—*delegates of workingmen, in a Labor gathering*—were themselves employers of labor.

The rest of the time was taken up by jurisdictional disputes, in which the great International Unions, whose officials make up the Gompers machine, suspended the insurgent Locals right and left, and destroyed and gobbled up the new organizations. In this way the Machine ordered the Jewelry Workers to be split in half, part to go to the Metal Polishers, the rest to the Machinists.

The Breakup of the A. F. of L.

But a new era is dawning in the American Labor movement, and this new tendency was present at the Convention—in the presence of Duncan, of Seattle; Grow, of Los Angeles, and others. The Seattle and Winnipeg General Strikes had already shaken Organized Labor to its foundations. It was shown that ever larger and larger bodies of workers were discontented with the reactionary policy of the A. F. of L., and were reaching out in innumerable insurgent movements. The One Big Union was in the air; there were rumors of Workers' Councils and Shop Committees, both fatal to the autocracy of the Craft Union officials.

Since the Convention, the insurgent movements in the A. F. of L. have been steadily growing, all based on the idea of Workers' Control of Unions, and all aiming toward Workers' Control of Industry. In New York alone the Carpenters, Bricklayers and Metal Trades are breaking away from their old Craft Unions to join new *industrial* organizations. In the Printing Trades the same thing is developing. The Furriers are starting a new organization based on Shop Stewards; Workers' Councils are being formed in the Shirt-Waist and Dress industry; the Amalgamated Textile Workers is drawing the weavers, knitters, spinners, etc., into one great industrial organization. Among all these new organizations springing up from the discontent of the workers with the A. F. of L., the sentiment toward the One Big Union is growing by leaps and bounds.

From time to time we shall publish in the *Voice of Labor* articles about these new movements.

Atlantic City showed that the A. F. of L. was a dead body, unable either to carry on the workers' economic struggle, or to reconstruct itself in accordance with the new conditions, under pressure of which the Labor movements of the world are pressing forward toward the Workers' Commonwealth.

Labor's Raw Deal at Paris

By Tom Paine

THE League of Nations Commission on International Labor, appointed by the Council of Ten in Paris, has devised a "Charter of International Labor Legislation," which it is proposed to insert in the Peace Treaty. The Peace Conference Charter contains many of the out-of-date resolutions of the oldest of ancient conferences on Labor. Most of the things it offers have either been obtained here already or are about to be obtained; the most notable exception being "a reasonable standard of life" for the workers, and of course opinions differ acutely as to what is reasonable! The provisions include:

Children not to be gainfully employed under 14 years of age.

Persons between 14 and 18 not to do work harmful to their physical development, and to continue their education.

Every worker to have a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life having regard to the civilization of his time and country.

Equal pay for equal work. A weekly day of rest.

48-hour week, subject to an exception for countries where climatic conditions, industrial developments, or other circumstances render the industrial efficiency of the workers substantially different.

(That we suppose means that Africans, Indians, and others whose power of protest is but feebly developed, will have to work longer hours.)

Foreign workers to have the same treatment as nationals. State inspection of factories and workshops.

A poor program, but all that the League of Nations has to offer the workers, to prevent them turning to Bolshevism, which will make the workers the rulers of the world and its destiny.

One to Three

The machinery of the International Labor Office which the Council of Ten ("moved," they say, "by sentiments of justice and humanity") are about to set up, is as unsatisfactory as the Charter. It consists of a General Conference of four representatives from each of the countries represented; *two of these four are to be representatives of the Government, one of employers of labor, and one of the workers.* Labor is thus placed in a safe minority of one to three! Each delegate may be accompanied by two advisers, and where women's questions are concerned "one at least of the advisers should be a woman." This is to placate the Suffragists. Some of them will no doubt feel highly flattered by the idea that the Governments have consented to allow the women to appear occasionally, in the proportion of one to eleven, and that sex barriers in the general League of Nations machinery are verbally removed. The workers' and employers' delegates are to be selected in agreement with the most representative body of employers and work-people, and the Conference, by a two-thirds majority of the votes cast, may refuse to admit any delegate not so appointed—*Bolshevik views can thus easily be excluded by a vote of the Government and employers' representatives!*

The governing body of the International Labor Office is to consist of 24 members: 12 representing

the workers' delegates. *Thus labor is placed in a minority of one to four!*

The International Labor Office will collect and distribute information concerning international Labor, and will publish a periodical in English and French.

If any country fails to fall in with the agreements made concerning Labor, a commission of inquiry shall be chosen by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, from a panel consisting of three representatives of the Governments, three representatives of the employers, and three workers' representatives. Any of these representatives, "not deemed to be fully qualified," may be rejected by a two-thirds vote of the governing body. *Thus, again, the Government and employers' representatives may together veto any of the workers' representatives to whom they may object.* The offending State may appeal from the Commission of Inquiry to the "Permanent Court of International Justice" to be created by the League of Nations, the findings of which will be final! The offending State may have passed upon it "an economic sentence." We suppose this means that it may be blockaded and boycotted, and that its people may be starved.

Nothing Doing!

Labor in all countries should refuse to have anything to do with this scheme. It places Labor in an insulting minority. It brings Labor into the international machinery set up by the capitalist Governments to fight Socialism. It is the coping to the national machinery by which the governments are seeking to divert Labor from *direct, independent action*, in which it is daily growing more powerful and successful. In direct action the wire-pullers and politicians take second place, and the rank and file are the rulers. By direct action the Russian working classes, the industrial workers, the peasants, the soldiers and sailors, established a government and abolished landlordism and Capitalism. By direct action the British miners won the minimum wage and the eight-hour day; by the threat of direct action they have won the promise of a seven-hour day.

How about it, Americans?

Labor all over the world has rejected the Labor Charter of the League of Nations—that is, in all countries except the United States, *where the American Federation of Labor accepted it at the Atlantic City Convention.* And why shouldn't the A. F. of L. accept it? Sammy Gompers was the president of the Commission on International Labor, and he is responsible for the document.

Sammy left Paris, however, before the Labor Charter was published, and when he was gone the politicians went over it. Sammy had written it down, "Labor is not a commodity," (whatever that may mean). The politicians amended it to read, "Labor is not *merely* a commodity." Andrew Furuseth, at Atlantic City, said it was as if he had said, "Andy Furuseth is not a scab"—and someone had altered it to, "Andy Furuseth is not *merely* a scab!"

(Continued on next page)

Striking on the Job

Three examples of the way the workers can run their own affairs *on the job* are herewith reprinted from *The Textile Worker*, organ of Branch Paterson, N. J., Textile Workers Industrial Union No. 1000, of the I. W. W.

The Boss Fires—The Workers Reinstate

Nearly every day brings word of some shop where the workers, dissatisfied with conditions, have taken matters into their own hands and dealt with the boss directly, instead of sending for some A. F. of L. job holder to come and settle the question in private conference with the boss.

At John Marcus's big shop on Straight Street, two workers who had gone as a committee to demand more wages and 44 hours, were told by the foreman that they should "take a vacation of a few weeks, as work was slack." As the mill was running full speed, the weavers all knew what this meant—discrimination. So they held a shop meeting, July 17, and voted to stop the looms if the men were not reinstated.

Meanwhile the men had found work elsewhere, but one of them, an I. W. W., although he had a better job, agreed to give it up and go to the old one, in order to teach the boss—and the workers—a lesson in shop solidarity.

When the committee put it up to the foreman the next morning, he tried to spar for time, and then agreed to take the man back but not to give him his old looms again. The committee insisted he should get the same looms and be taken back *at once*.

The threat to stop the looms immediately was effective and that same afternoon the weaver went back to his old place. As he did so, he remarked to the foreman: "You fired me, but the workers put me back."

If the workers will stick together and turn a deaf ear to the Union official or business agent when he tries to get them to surrender their power into his hands, *there is nothing they cannot get if they want it*.

The Boss Licked

As the workers in the Paterson silk mills learn what they can accomplish by their organized power in the shop, without the interference of any union officials, they are resorting to this "direct action" method more

and more frequently and are learning by experience how to use it effectively to get what they demand.

A recent instance of this occurred in Blake Bros.' Madison Street shop. The authorities having prevented the workers in this mill from holding a shop meeting in an outside hall, the workers decided to hold it in the shop. This naturally did not please Mr. Boss who saw his *profits* temporarily suspended. An argument with the chairman resulted and the boss fired him.

The workers held a shop meeting and voted to go on strike for the reinstatement of the chairman and at the same time demand an increase in wages.

The boss refused at first, but, after a committee appeared at his other shop on Warren Street to ask the workers there not to *scab* on them by filling the firm's orders, he sent for the committee and offered to compromise. But the strikers insisted on their demand for the full price list. (The chairman had meanwhile decided to work elsewhere.)

In the face of the solidarity of his employees the boss threw up the sponge. Before going back to work, the weavers voted unanimously to strike if the boss tried to discriminate against the shop chairman or any member of the shop committee, and not to admit into the shop any weaver who, during the strike, had taken his tools and gotten a job in another shop.

Clearing Out Scabs

The weavers in the Criterion mill, Railway and Kentucky Aves., have just given a practical demonstration of the value of direct action in the shop as a means, not only of protecting the worker's right to his job, but also of protecting all the workers in the shop against the danger of having a *scab* in their midst.

All the weavers in the shop were Union men except one who refused to take out a card. The workers learned also that he had been reporting to the boss all that went on in shop meetings. So they struck and refused to work with a *scab* and a stool pigeon.

The boss tried the trick of sending a letter to the newspapers, July 15, saying he had closed his shop "indefinitely," and followed this up the next day with an ad calling on his former slaves to come and get their money and their tools.

This bluff did not fool the workers, however. They knew that the boss could never resist the temptation to coin money out of the present activity and high prices in the silk business. So they held firm and voted to get their money, but to refuse to take their tools away.

When they went for their money, the boss, seeing that his trick had not worked, gave up, said he had already fired the *scab* and asked them to come back at once and "forget this little disagreement." The men voted to take a vacation until the following Monday morning, in order to "give the boss a good lesson," so that he should not be so quick to lock them out another time.

As for "forgetting" the affair, it was such a striking example of what the workers can do by their own united power in the shop that they couldn't forget it if they wanted to.

Labor's Raw Deal at Paris

(Continued from page 10)

But even after Furuseth told how the Labor Commission had *rejected* a clause offered by the Americans forbidding human slavery, and another forbidding the arrest of sailors who leave their ships—even then Sammy Gompers defended this infamous Charter.

Even after President Wilson had cabled to Atlantic City that "the Labor provisions were materially weakened"—even then did the A. F. of L. Convention accept it. . . .

It may interest working men to know that Gompers said on that occasion, "*The representative of the American employers and I worked together in perfect harmony on the Labor Committee!*"

Shop Committees in Russia

By John Reed

THE history of Labor organization in Russia is very brief. Before the 1905 Revolution no labor Unions, in the strict sense of the word, existed. The only recognized workmen's representation was the election of a starosta, or "elder," much as the starostas are elected in Russian villages, and even in Russian prisons, and with about as much power. In 1905, some 200,000 workmen joined the Unions. Stolypin suppressed them. Some little unions persisted, but they were finally crushed, their funds seized, their leaders sent to Siberia. After that the Unions existed half-secretly, with a membership over all Russia of about 10,000. During the war, however, all attempts at Labor organization were ruthlessly stamped out, and workmen discovered in any connection with Labor organizations were sent to the front.

Trade Unions

The Revolution released the workers partly from this bondage, and pushed toward rapid organization. After four months of the Revolution the first conference of the Trade Unions of All-Russia was held—200 delegates representing more than 1,400,000 workers. Two months later the membership was calculated at more than 3,000,000, according to the report of Riazonov: it is now more than double that number.

Now these Trade Unions (*Professionalnye Soyuzi*) were industrial Unions, big Unions, which merged all the petty craft divisions into one organization. Thus in the Government gun-factory at Sestroretzk, for example, all those who worked upon the manufacture of rifles—the men who forged barrels, the machinists who fitted the mechanism, the carpenters who made the stocks—were all members of the Metal Workers Union.

The Trade Unions performed an important task. Modelled on a plan which combined the best features of the French and the German Trade Unions, they reached vast numbers of workers and brought them together. But, like Trade Union movements everywhere, they were mainly concerned with the fight for shorter hours, higher wages and better conditions. They embraced the Trade Union philosophy, which leads to "agreements" and "contracts" with the employers—to the partnership of Capital and Labor. They established, for example, a system of Arbitration Commissions under Government supervision.

Why Shop Committees Were Formed

And just as in this country the mass of the workers are discontented with the reactionary and insufficient policy of the A. F. of L.—just as the policy of merely raising wages and improving conditions doesn't lead anywhere—so in Russia Labor wasn't satisfied. The Russian workers in the factories wanted to control industry. They wanted to control their jobs in the shops. Hampered by "agreements" and Arbitration Commissions supported by their Union officials, the workers could not act. Therefore in the shops there grew up those unique organizations, created by the Revolution itself, the Factory Shop Committees (*Fabrichno-Zavodskye Komitieti*). These

latter are the real foundation of Workers' Control of Industry.

The Factory Committees originated in the government munitions factories. At the outbreak of the Revolution, most of the administrators of the government factories, chiefly military officers who brutalized the workers with all the privilege of military law, ran away. Unlike the private manufacturers, these government officials had no interest in the business. The workers, in order to prevent the closing down of the factory, had to take charge of the administration. In some places, as at Sestroretzk, this meant taking charge of the town also. And these government plants were run with such inefficiency, so much corruption, that the Workers' Committee, although it raised wages, shortened hours, and hired more hands, actually increased production and lowered expenses—at the same time completing new buildings begun by dishonest contractors, constructing a fine new hospital, and giving the town its first sewerage system. With these government plants the Factory Shop Committees had a comparatively easy time. For a long time after the Revolution there was no authority to question the authority of the workers, and finally when the Kerensky government began to interfere, the workers had complete control. Working as they were on munitions, with standing orders, there was no excuse for closing down, and in fuel and raw materials the government itself supplied them. Although many times under the inefficient Kerensky government the government shops



From Good Morning

Society Note From Moscow

Grand Duke Neverwork, who is noted for correct costumes, appeared on the Boulevard last Sunday in overalls of a new cut. The Grand Duke says that overalls will not be worn creased this year.

mittees had to send their delegates to Baku to buy oil, to Kharkov for coal, and to Siberia for iron.

Shop Committees at Work

From Sestroretzk the Shop Committee spread like wild-fire to other government shops—then to private establishments working on government orders, then to private industries, and finally to the factories which were closed down at the beginning of the Revolution. First the movement was confined to Petrograd, but soon it began to spread over all Russia, and just before the November Revolution took place the first All-Russian Congress of Factory Shop Committees. At the present time, representatives of the Factory Shop Committees and representatives of the Trade Unions make up the Department of Labor of the new government, and compose the Council of Workers' Control.

The first Committees in the private factories were mainly engaged in keeping the industry going, in the face of lack of coal, of raw materials, and especially, the sabotage of the owners and the administrative force, who wanted to shut down. It was a question of life and death to the workers. The newly-formed Shop Committees were forced to find out how many orders the factory had, how much fuel and raw material were on hand, what was the income from the business—in order to determine the wages that could be paid—and to control itself the discipline of the workers, and the hiring and discharging of men. In factories which the owners insisted could not keep open, the workers were forced to take charge themselves, and run the business as well as they could.

Some of the experiments were very interesting. For example, there was a cotton factory in Novgorod which was abandoned by its owners. The workers—inexperienced in administration—took charge. The first thing they did was to manufacture enough cloth for their own needs, and then for the needs of the other workers in Novgorod. After that the Shop Committee sent men out to factories in other cities, offering to exchange cotton cloth for other articles they needed—shoes, implements; they exchanged cloth for bread with the peasants; and finally they began to take orders from commercial houses. For their raw material they had to send men south to the cotton-growing country, and then with the Railroad Workers' Union they had to pay with cloth for the transportation of the cotton. So with fuel from the coal mines of the Don.

In the great private industries which remained open, the Factory Shop Committees appointed delegates to confer with the administration about getting fuel, raw material, and even orders. They had to keep account of all that came into the factory, and all that went out. They made a valuation of the entire plant, so as to find out how much the factory was worth, how much stock was held, what the profits were. Everywhere the workers' greatest difficulty was with the owners, who concealed profits, refused orders, and tried in every way to destroy the efficiency of the plant, so as to discredit the workers' organizations. All counter-revolutionary or anti-democratic engineers, clerks, foremen, etc., were discharged by the Factory Shop Committees, nor could they enter any other factory without the recommendation of the Factory Shop Committee of their preceding place of employment.

Workers were required to join the Union before they were hired, and the Factory Shop Committee supervised the carrying out of all Union scales and regulations.

The Fight Against the Committees

The fight by the capitalists against these Factory Shop Committees was extremely bitter. Their work was hindered at every step. The most extravagant lies have been published in the capitalist press about "lazy workmen" who spent all their time in talking when they should be working—while as a matter of fact the Factory Shop Committees usually had to work eighteen hours a day; about the enormous size of the Committees—while for example at Putilov Works, the largest factory in Petrograd, employing about 40,000 men, the Central Factory Shop Committee, representing eleven departments and 46 shops, consisted of twenty-two men. Even Skobelev, "Socialist" Minister of Labor under the Kerensky government, issued an order in the first part of September that the Factory Shop Committees should only meet "after working-hours," and no longer receive wages for their time on Committee business. As a matter of fact, the Factory Shop Committees were all that kept Russian industry from complete disintegration during the days of the Kerensky Government. Thus the new Russian industrial order was born of necessity.

Each Factory Shop Committee had five departments: Production and Distribution, Fuel, Raw Materials, Technical Organization of the Industry, and Demobilization (or changing from a war to a peace basis). In each district, all the factories of one industry combined to send two delegates to a district council, and each district council sent one delegate to the city council—which in turn had its delegates in the All-Russian Council, in the Central Committee of the Trade Unions, and in the Soviet.

Not all workmen were Union workmen in Russia; but every factory worker had to be represented in the Factory Shop Committee. And the Shop Committee forced its members to join their Unions.

Today the Unions stabilize wages and conditions throughout each industry, and these Union regulations are put into effect by the Shop Committees in each shop. The Union determines the scale and the hours of labor; the Shop Committees control production in the factories, requisition fuel and raw material, and arrange with the Railway workers and the Co-operatives for distribution. But equally important, *the Shop Committees, who control the shops, and are the direct representatives of the workers on the job, are able to check up the actions of the Trade Unions, and to control the Trade Union Officials.*

The entire economic life of Soviet Russia is now managed by the Supreme Council of Public Economy, which is made up of representatives of the Trade Unions, the Factory Shop Committees, the peasant's Land Committees, and the organizations of technical experts—such as engineers, chemists, etc.

As all industry is the property of the Soviet Government, in which only workers can vote, Russian Labor is supreme.

(Next issue—Shop Stewards and Shop Committees in England and Scotland.)

Craft Unionism Canned in Canada

By BEN LEGERE.

I WAS "in at the death" of the A. F. of L. in Western Canada. The funeral services were held in Calgary on May 4th at a mass-meeting in the Allen Theatre. The meeting was arranged by the conservative minority in the Calgary Trades and Labor Council as a last desperate effort to stop the advance of the One Big Union.

For several weeks previous, balloting had been going on in Western Canada upon the question of seceding from the A. F. of L. and forming an organization of all Canadian workers into One Big Union.

Reports from town after town showed that the One Big Union idea had caught the imagination of the workers, and Organized Labor was in open rebellion against the old forms of Unionism.

Calgary is the most important industrial center in Western Canada, with the exception of Winnipeg. So the supporters of the Gompers machine in Canada determined to make a last stand there, hoping that enough influence might be exerted by a defeat of the One Big Union proposition to swing many other towns which had not yet voted against the idea.

Good-bye, O. B. U.!

So the mass-meeting was arranged and Thomas Moore, President of the Canadian Trades Congress, was announced as the principal speaker. The newspapers gave much space to advertising the meeting. They spoke of it as though it were an accepted fact that Organized Labor in Calgary was violently opposed to the One Big Union, and that this meeting would settle it. Moore was spoken of as one of the five big Labor men of America, and not even Gompers himself could more effectively quash this insurgent movement among the rank and file of the Labor Unions.

The result was a packed hall and a most interesting evening. The first speaker was J. Bruce, an official of the Plumbers' Union. Mr. Bruce had recently been appointed to the Royal Labor Commission, a device of the Dominion Government to settle all disputes between capital and labor. Mr. Bruce is a Labor Party politician as well as an official of his craft Union, and boasted that for thirty years he has "packed a card in both the political and economic organizations" of Labor. He revealed a remarkably clear understanding of the class struggle when some one in the audience asked if the Royal Commission was not controlled by the capitalists. "Not at all," declared Bruce. "The Commission is composed of three representatives of Organized Labor, three capitalists and three judges."

The three representatives of Labor, it developed, were also members of Parliament, who had worked in industry in their youth.

Bruce Fizzles

Bruce made a "radical" speech. He was strong for the "social revolution... Labor must take over the industries," he said—BUT—it must be done by "evolution." The good old approved method of lobbying at

Ottawa just as Gompers does at Washington was his solution of the pressing problems of the hour. He denounced violently the destructive efforts of "a few hot-headed enthusiasts" who were leading the workers toward revolution by a road not approved by the powers that be. Mr. Bruce had a rather irritating effect upon the audience. They laughed at him a good deal but sometimes they jeered, and he got red in the face and fumed. Then they laughed again. He only talked for half-an-hour, and it was a rather uncomfortable half-hour for him.

They have the "heckling" habit in Canada. The British audience simply will not keep still if the fellow on the platform rubs them the wrong way. The interruptions Bruce suffered from made Mr. Moore cautious. He did not denounce. He pleaded. "Don't allow these enthusiasts to lead you astray," was his plea. "Trust to me for guidance. I know so much more about the labor struggle than you do. Am I not your highest official, with the advantage of being able to travel about the country and observe conditions? Therefore, you must accept my interpretation of the Labor movement as authoritative." This was the tone of his speech. He went into a long history of the great achievements of the Labor lobby at Ottawa. It is an imposing array of Labor legislation that Canada has on the statute books, but Mr. Moore was much embarrassed when one of the "hecklers" demanded that he cite an instance where one of those laws had been enforced. He pleaded with them to preserve the trade union machinery of the American Federation of Labor, which they had spent thirty years in building. Almost in a breath he said they were destroying the A. F. of L., and then declared



The Liberator

She:—You go out and mind the kids. My place is in the home!

that it could not be destroyed, that the One Big Union movement could not succeed, that it had failed in Seattle and every place in the world where it had ever been tried.

"You Bet You Have"

He talked a long time, but the audience was very patient and courteous. It is true that once when he looked at his watch and said he thought he had talked long enough, one exasperated worker yelled, "You bet you have!"

When he finished, the audience had its inning. They have free speech in Canada because they take it. Attacks may be made upon it but they are rendered futile by the persistent habit of the Canadian who has something to say, of addressing the crowd wherever he finds it. No matter who has arranged the meeting, when the speaker finishes it belongs to the crowd. I have never heard any one heckled as was Tom Moore that night in Calgary. From all parts of the hall, the questions came flying at him and most of them quite floored him. Soon he gave up any attempt to answer, and then the chairman conceded the demand from the audience for speeches from the floor.

Moore and Bruce were likened to the Eberts and Scheidemanns of Germany for their betrayal of the working class. His labor-lobbying program was repudiated and the workers declared they were taking the conduct of their affairs out of the hands of leaders.

One speaker, in a brief, simple, scientific analysis, showed that the machine process in modern industry had rendered the craft Union form of organization impotent, and another argued that the workers must organize along the lines of industries just as they have been assembled together by the masters, and then unite these industrial unions in the One Big Union; not in a loose federation or an amalgamation, but in a powerful, all-embracing, centralized organization, capable of not only carrying on an effective everyday struggle for better conditions under the present system, but capable also of taking over the complete control and operation of the industries when the capitalist system of production for profit shall be replaced by a system of production for use.

The Audience Takes a Hand

They reviewed the lessons learned by four years of war and denounced the profiteering of the "Money-Huns" and "dollar-patriots," who sent them overseas to be slaughtered while they stayed at home and reaped dividends as high as seventy-two per cent. in industries that before the war had never paid more than fifteen. And these One Big Union advocates had no illusions about higher wages or shorter hours being a solution of the problem. They all recognized that there could be no real change until Labor took over the industries of the nation.

"The workers of Russia are giving the world an example to follow," said one, "and the sooner the workers in all the other countries sweep aside their Moores, Bruces, Gomperses, Eberts and Scheidemanns and begin the formation of Soviets, the better it will be for Labor. And the One Big Union is Canada's first step in that direction," he declared.

Call the Hearse!

One speaker, answering Moore's plea that they should not destroy the trade-union machinery it had taken thirty years to build, said they were not concerned about destroying machinery that was of no use to them, and that they were not destroying it altogether, but merely adding a new wheel to the machine that would make it run more efficiently. If, in the process of adding that new wheel, they threw out some of the old cogs that would cost some officials the fat salaries they now enjoy, they did not intend to allow that to deter them.

I put the finishing touch upon the meeting by a little speech which gave the crowd a chance to cheer wildly for the One Big Union, and completed the discomfiture of Mr. Moore. They wanted me to continue and take the platform, but the chairman, when he finally succeeded in making himself heard, said it would be no use letting me speak longer, as I'd only say the same thing over again. "Let him," yelled one of the crowd. "I want to learn it off by heart!"

The next morning, the Calgary papers reluctantly reported that Mr. Moore had addressed a hostile audience that had applauded the One Big Union advocates to the echo. Mr. Moore is still campaigning against the O. B. U., but he has left the Western provinces to their fate. The Calgary meeting definitely swung the province of Alberta and much of Saskatchewan and British Columbia into the One Big Union movement. From Alberta I have a report that out of 50,000 votes cast, 44,000 went for the O. B. U.

In Eastern Canada, where Mr. Moore is now campaigning, the same thing is happening. The Industrial Union movement has arrived in Canada, and it came by way of secession from the A. F. of L., but the secession was on such a large scale that the old form of organization has simply been supplanted by the new.

Like Hell

By William H. Judge

*Fourth Engineers, Fourth Division, Army of Occupation,
Dungenheim, Germany, January 27, 1919.*

Darling, I am coming back,
Silver threads among the black.
Now that peace in Europe nears,
I'll be home in seven years.
I'll drop in on you some night
With my whiskers long and white.
Yes the war is over, dear,
And we're coming home, I hear.
Home again with you once more—
Say by nineteen twenty-four.
Once I thought by now I'd be
Sailing back across the sea;
Back to where you sit and pine,
But I'm stuck here on the Rhine.
You can hear the gang all curse
"War is hell, but peace is worse."
When the next war comes around,
In the front rank I'll be found.
I'll rush in again pell mell,
Yes, I will—I will like hell.

My Own Shop

IN CHARLEY SCHWAB'S KINGDOM

BY GEORGE

There's more than one way to skin a mule.

The old way was to keep him half starved and while the stuffing out of him when he balked. But now the farmer knows better; the mule gets his belly full, he is kidded along, and the farmer works him seven times as hard as before.

A few years ago, when the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, Inc., bought the old, dilapidated Fore River Shipyard, the workers' wages were at the bottom of the scale—about one-third lower than anywhere else. When mechanics in the Navy Yard, ten miles away, were being paid 60 cents an hour, Fore River gave them 42 cents; helpers in the Navy Yard got 37 cents an hour, in Fore River 22½ cents for exactly the same kind of work.

And now—after two and a half years—

We have green lawns with blooming flower-beds; we have a brass band, which plays every noon hour; we have a glee club and concerts, a club-house, athletic field—grand-stand and all; we have baseball teams, wrestling and boxing matches, dancing and entertainments, banquets and outings; we have an annual Field Day. All this with motherly care and fatherly kind-heartedness is provided and encouraged by the Company. The General Manager, the General Superintendent and various departmental foremen hob-nob with the men, very "democratic"—acting as guests of honor, distributing prizes, making speeches.

We have an official newspaper, *The Fore River Log*, full of sports, pictures, personalities of bosses and faithful employees, with a page or two for business—published and given free by the Company.

We also have the "Navy Yard rates" and the "Macy Award"—what the Seattle ship-workers went on strike against; we have Unions by the score; we have agreements and rules; we have elected and recognized "shop and craft committees," who have free space in *The Fore River Log*, and who gratefully sing the praises of the Company.

Peace is Hell!

Now the "10 per cent. commission" contracts are finished, and the Yard is gradually returning to pre-war conditions. As for business—let the Company speak for itself:

"The Fore River Plant of the Bethlehem Steel Corp., Inc., has startled the shipbuilding world more than once, so records and the like aren't surprising at the plant, but in the case of the United States Torpedo Boat *Mahan*, the work was of such excellent standard and the speed of construction so great that a world's record was established.

"New contracts for three big steel ships were awarded to Fore River Shipyard . . . during the first few days in June.

"The steel is already in the yard for the first boat and all of the Departments have laid out their work with the idea of showing the rest of the country that Fore River not only can continue to build destroyers rapidly but can also turn out merchant work given them faster than any other Yard."

So, you see, the Fore River Yard is rushed with

orders. Speed up! Speed up!

But for the last six months thousands of workers have been discharged. The eighteen thousand employees which worked there during the war, by April, 1919, had shrunk to *thirteen thousand*, and the discharging goes on. They say that by September the working force will be reduced to *eight thousand*.

Speeding-Up

However, they're getting "speeding-up" down pretty fine. The greatest speed is attained on given jobs by fast piece-workers. Now they are beginning to cut down the piece-work, and demand the same amount of work at regular day-rates.

Formerly, there were special agreements for difficult, dangerous or disagreeable work; now it is just work, or get out.

The "fifty-fifty" bonus system is being whittled down so that the bonus is gradually disappearing—but the speed goes marching on.

World records bring to Bethlehem Steel world profits—record-breaking millions. To the General Managers and General Superintendents they bring promotions, larger salaries. To the workers they bring stiff arms, lop-sided shoulders, hump-backs; they bring the workers sooner to old age, nearer to death.

Unions and Shop Committees

As for all the Unions, the big Internationals of the American Federation of Labor—Boilermakers, Blacksmiths, Machinists, Sheet Metal Workers, Electrical Workers, etc.—they do nothing, they *don't want* to do anything. The "shop committees" are even worse. In some cases they even help the speeding up.

Real Shop Committees would resist all speeding-up; would fight tooth and nail all discharges; would arouse the men to solidarity; would rather cut down working hours and stop all new hiring, than permit this wholesale dumping of working men out on the street.

"But," I hear some one say, "they are keeping up the wages for the rest of the workers."

Outside thousands of our brothers—Union men, our buddies—are looking for jobs.

How are you going to prevent the Company from hiring them at lower wages?

When a first-class mechanic and his family are facing starvation, how are you going to prevent him from accepting a second-class mechanic's rate—or a second-class mechanic a third-class mechanic's pay—or a third-class mechanic coming in as a helper?

How do you know that the Company is not playing the discharged men against the men still working? Suppose the Company discharges thousands to scare more speed into those who are working; then, later rehires some of them for lower wages, and then discharges the rest of the "high-raters"—keeping only the few indispensable specialists in each Department?

Hooray!

But cheer up!

Cheer up, I say! The Fore River Annual Field Day is near. Don't get stuck crawling through the barrel and you will win the third prize in the Obstacle Race, and S. W. Wakeman will present to you a pewter loving-cup with his compliments.